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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

March 20, 1953

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL
VIA LIAISON

Honorable Robert Cutler
Administrative Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear General Cutler:

There is enclosed, as of possible interest, one copy of a document entitled, "Communist Strategy and Tactics - Part II: Current Strategy and Tactics of the Communist Party, USA."

This monograph is an analysis of the current strategy and tactics of the Communist Party, USA, and is the concluding portion of a two-part study of Communist strategy and tactics. Part I was forwarded to your office by letter dated March 4, 1953.

Copy No. 5 of this document is being made available for your confidential information, and its contents should not be disseminated.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure

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COMMUNIST STRATEGY AND TACTICS

PART II

CURRENT STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
John Edgar Hoover, Director

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COMMUNIST STRATEGY AND TACTICS

PART II

CURRENT STRATEGY AND TACTICS

OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

March, 1953

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
John Edgar Hoover, Director

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
CHART OF CURRENT STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA	i
INTRODUCTION	1
SOURCE OF CURRENT STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA	2
Founding of the Cominform	2
The Peace Movement	4
REACTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA	6
Reaction to the Founding of the Cominform	6
Acceptance of the Cominform Program	6
CURRENT STRATEGIC AND TACTICAL AIMS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA	9
Strategic Aims	9
Tactical Aims	11
United Front	11
Immediate Demands	12
Parallel Action	14
RELATION OF THE PEACE ISSUE TO CURRENT STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA	16
Overthrow of the Government	17
Defense of the Soviet Union	18
U. S. Foreign Policy	22
The Korean War	25
Increased Trade With Soviet Union	27
Maintain Contact with the Masses	29
Labor	38
Negro	40
Farmers	41
Youth	43
Women	45
Preserve the Legal Status of the Communist Party, USA	47
Underground Activity	53
CONCLUSION	58
SOURCES	63

INTRODUCTION

Part I of this study has indicated the general nature, purpose and interrelation of Communist strategy and tactics and the basic principles which guide their application. Part II, the present section, will be devoted to an examination of the strategy and tactics currently employed by the Communist Party, USA. However, any such analysis must take into consideration the international character of the Communist movement and view the activities of the Communist Party in this country in their true perspective, viz., as an integral part of the strategic and tactical plan of world Communism aimed at undermining the free world and paving the way for a world-wide Soviet dictatorship.

This factor makes it necessary to include a brief review of recent pertinent developments in the world Communist movement which have exercised a decisive influence in determining the strategy and tactics of the Communist Party, USA, and the reaction of the Communist Party in this country to these developments.

SOURCE OF CURRENT STRATEGY AND TACTICS

OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

Founding of the Cominform

In 1943, during World War II, when Russia was in dire need of military assistance, the Third International (Comintern), which for twenty-four years had coordinated world-wide Communist activity, was formally dissolved. It will also be recalled that after the Second World War, disagreements arose between some of the satellite Communist nations regarding various aspects of international affairs. As examples, the conflict between the Communist Parties in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria over Macedonia, the dispute between the Communist Parties of Italy and Yugoslavia over Trieste, and the original intention of both Poland and Czechoslovakia to participate in the Marshall Plan, may be cited. Moreover, the foreign policy of the United States, particularly as manifested in the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, gave rise to the realization by the Soviet Union of the necessity for greater coordination in the activities of Communist Parties throughout the world.

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Accordingly, in September, 1947, at a conference held in Poland, there was formed the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties (Cominform), to provide "for interchange of experience and voluntary coordination of action of the various Parties...in view of the growing complication of the post-war international situation, a situation in which the lack of connections among the Communist Parties may prove detrimental to the working class." (1) Since its organization, the Cominform has played an active role in world-wide Communist strategy and tactics. One of its principal functions is the publication of a weekly journal For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!, which presently appears in nineteen languages. Each issue carries reports on the activities of Communist Parties throughout the world as well as the major speeches of leading Communists in all nations. Thus it serves not only as an authoritative ideological guide, but as a vehicle for indicating strategy and tactics for all Communist Parties throughout the world.

Two meetings of the Cominform have been of particular significance in determining the present strategy and tactics of the Communist Party, USA. They are the founding conference in September, 1947, and the fourth conference in Hungary, in November, 1949. At the founding conference, the late

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Andrei Zhdanov, who with Georgi Malenkov was a delegate from the Soviet Union, first propounded the theory of the division of the postwar world into two camps, "the imperialist camp" led by the United States, and the "anti-imperialist camp" led by the Soviet Union "and countries of the new democracy." Zhdanov claimed that the "imperialistic" foreign policy of the United States was aimed at the political and economic domination of the rest of the world and at eventual war against Russia. On the other hand, he alleged that the Soviet Union was attempting to preserve peace and that its foreign policy was based on the possibility of the "co-existence, over a lengthy period," (2) of capitalism and socialism.

In view of this "new alignment of political forces," Zhdanov called on Communist Parties throughout the world to become "the leading force in the cause of drawing all anti-fascist, freedom-loving elements into the struggle against the new American expansionist plans for the enslavement of Europe." He also urged them to "rally and unite their efforts on the basis of a common anti-imperialist and democratic platform and gather round themselves all the democratic and patriotic forces of the people." (3)

<u>The Peace Movement</u>

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The fourth meeting of the Cominform held in Hungary in 1949 affirmed the validity of Zhdanov's analysis of the international situation and

reiterated his allegation that the United States was attempting to provoke another war while Russia was trying to preserve peace. However, it also claimed to detect an ever-increasing universally popular sentiment for peace and called on Communist Parties throughout the world to "organise and rally the broad masses of the people" in a united front for peace. The importance of this peace movement may be seen from the terminology used to describe it. The Cominform described the fight for peace as of "particular urgency," a "paramount task," a "titanic struggle," "the cardinal task" and "the pivot of the entire activity of the Communist Parties."

The Cominform called for the establishment of peace committees, the signing of peace petitions and the issuance of peace literature on a local, national and international scale. It also urged Communist Parties throughout the world to attempt to enlist the support of "trade unions, women's, youth, co-operative, sports, cultural, educational, religious and other organizations" as well as "scientists, writers, journalists, cultural workers, parliamentary and other political and public leaders" in its united front for peace.(4)

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REACTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

Reaction to the Founding of the Cominform

The Communist Party, USA, acclaimed the organization of the Cominform as having "everywhere strengthened patriots defending national freedom and the cause of peace, making more effective their resistance to the program of imperialist expansion, intervention and war, of which Wall Street is the chief instigator." (5)

It also clarified its relationship with the Cominform, when, in March, 1948, it announced that "although our Party...does not deem it expedient at this time to affiliate with the Information Bureau, we are in accord with its objectives of peace, economic recovery, and national independence." (6)

Acceptance of the Cominform Program

However, the Communist Party, USA, has done more than merely approve the formation of the Cominform. The Party has also followed the program outlined by the Cominform, as is evident from the resolution adopted at its Fifteenth National Convention held in New York December 28-30, 1950, by which all its subsequent activities have been guided. This resolution repeated the Cominform's charge that the United States was following a policy which would lead to war while the Soviet Union had only peaceful intentions. The Communist Party, USA, proclaimed its willingness "to work together with anyone, regardless of his political views,

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so long as he truly desires peace." It also instructed its members to work for "the achievement of the broadest united action" and emphasized that "the united front from below is key."

The Communist Party, USA, reaffirmed the Cominform's program of "peaceful co-existence" in the following words:

> "The Party... must truly place the peace issue in the center of all its work... and constantly bring home to the American people both the possibility and necessity of achieving the peaceful co-existence of the two social systems.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "... The idea of inevitable war must be countered with the fact of the possibility and desirability of the co-existence of the two social systems and their peaceful competition." (7)

The all-pervasive nature of the Communist united front for peace is indicated in the following excerpt from this resolution:

> "... The struggle over the peace issue will affect every phase of American political, economic and social life.... To the extent that we link the fight for peace with the daily needs of the people, and the fight for the people's daily needs and rights to the issue of peace, to that extent the struggle of the masses will be deepened and they will achieve greater political clarity and understanding." (8)

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However, the Communist Party, USA, was most specific in insisting that, in any united-front movement for peace in which it participated, it would differentiate"between its own full anti-imperialist peace position

and the partial slogans and forms of action that would enlist the participation of the wide masses." (9)

Subsequent statements by leading Communists in this country have echoed the theme of this resolution. The united front for peace has been described as "the crucial and the central question" and the "number one task" as well as "the major, central and all-embracing issue of our time."

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CURRENT STRATEGIC AND TACTICAL AIMS

OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

Strategic Aims

As was indicated in the previous section of this monograph, the insistence of the Communists on a careful distinction between their strategy and tactics is not merely academic, since it furnishes them an excuse to justify the most abrupt changes in policy as mere "tactical maneuvers" while claiming that their "strategic goals" have remained unchanged. However, in view of their close interrelation, any evaluation of Communist strategy and tactics is, to a certain extent, subject to question since, at times, the distinction between them is almost indiscernible. As a result, events, which to some observers appear as mere tactical changes, are considered by others as evidence of a revision of over-all Communist strategy. It is believed, however, that the following will be generally accepted as the basic strategic aims of the Communist Party, USA, at the present time:

1. To overthrow the existing form of government and to substitute in its place a socialist form of government modeled on that of Russia;

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2. To defend the interests of the Soviet Union at all times;

3. To maintain contact with the masses in order to extend its influence beyond its own membership; and

4. To do everything possible to maintain its status as a legal, orthodox political party, and, if this fails, to continue to operate in an underground status.

These strategic aims are by their very nature basic and fundamental, not only to the Communist Party, USA, but to all Communist Parties which are not in power. At the same time, they are closely interrelated, not only among themselves but with the strategic aims of the world Communist movement. If the Communist Party, USA, can maintain its status as a recognized legitimate political party, its access to, and therefore its potential control over, the non-Communist masses will be greatly facilitated. The more non-Communist support it can gain for its views, the stronger will be the support it can furnish the Soviet Union and the more seriously will our nation be weakened and divided, thus helping to pave the way for a Communist seizure of power as well as reducing the resistance of the United States to the international advance of world Communism.

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Tactical Aims

The United Front

As in 1935, when the totalitarian regimes of Germany and Italy represented the strongest threat to Russian security, world Communism adopted the united front against fascism, so today, when the United States represents the strongest deterrent to the aggrandizement of Soviet power, world Communism is again stressing the use of the united-front tactic. At present, however, instead of the threat of fascism, the united front is based on the overwhelmingly prevalent desire for world peace. Under the guise of working for peace, the Communist Party, USA, is seeking to "unite" with those who, while rejecting its ultimate aims, may be willing to cooperate actively with it, or even passively accept its cooperation, in furthering the cause of world peace.

Shortly after the Cominform ordered the present peace campaign, the Communist Party, USA, proclaimed its willingness "to work together with anyone, regardless of his political views so long as he truly desires peace." In addition, it subsequently instructed its members that

> "...it is imperative that the peace forces of our country solidify their ranks in a broad, nation-wide front embracing the workers in the shops, the Negro people and their organizations, the farming masses, the urban middle classes, to organize and act for peace...." (10)

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"... The realization must be keen that the success of the peace movement depends on the united front of struggle from below." (11)

However, the united front from below proposed by the Communist Party at present must not be confused with the application of this tactic during the period from 1928 to 1935, when the Communists insisted on their own openly revolutionary goal as the basis for their cooperation. While, at present, the Communists are directing their appeals for unity directly to the rank-and-file members of non-Communist organizations rather than to the leaders of these groups, the only condition which is required for Communist participation is that the non-Communists are working for peace.

Immediate Demands

Another tactic which is currently being emphasized by the Communist Party, USA, is that of immediate demands. Through the use of this tactic, the Party is attempting to portray itself as the champion of numerous popular pressing issues, e. g., lower taxes, higher wages, Negro rights, better working conditions, educational and social improvements, etc., all with a wide range of emotional appeal. However, the Communist advocacy of these urgent issues is subordinated to the peace issue because

its sole purpose is the creation of an atmosphere favorable for the reception of Communist peace propaganda in the hope of enlarging the scope of the united front for peace. Recent instructions to Communists in this country regarding the aim of the tactic of immediate demands are particularly revealing, since they stress

> "...The importance of each individual Communist developing the maximum initiative and resourcefulness in working with his shopmates in such a manner as to earn their respect as a fighter for their most immediate needs. Raising issues and slogans around which the workers in the shop can be united, creating an atmosphere wherein it will be possible to bring forward at least in discussion, if not for immediate action, propositions in support of peace and against all aspects of the war drive." (12) (underscoring added - ed.)

A fuller explanation of the reason for the Communists' interest in immediate demands is even more indicative of the insidiously subversive nature of this tactic.

> "The Communist shop worker, if he is to gain the confidence of his work-mates, must stand out as a fearless defender of their interests. He will thus establish close ties with non-Party workers in his department. By regularly consulting with them, he will gain their support and confidence and win them for struggle around their grievances and inspire them to join the fight for peace at union meetings, shop steward meetings, and daily among the workers in the plant. He should diligently strive to win these workers as readers of our press and literature, and as financial supporters of our campaigns." (13)

Parallel Action

As a result of its past experience in united-front actions, the Communist Party is fully aware of the danger of "left sectarianism" with the resultant isolation and ineffectiveness of the Party. In addition, it realizes its present unpopularity with the vast majority of Americans and their various organizations. In order to surmount both these difficulties it is also stressing, at present, the necessity for parallel action. This tactic calls for activity on specific issues by the Communist Party and its front groups together with non-Communist groups, but without the formal, official, mutually admitted relationship inherent in a united-front action. It recently called the attention of its members to the fact that

> "It is necessary, rather, to place the main emphasis on developing peace activity in the existing mass organizations of labor, the Negro people, the farmers, the national groups, the women, and the youth. It is necessary to see the need of building united movements... especially around such specific issues as taxes, jobs, etc., growing out of the economic impact of the war drive on the labor movement.
>
> "One must be sure to take into account sufficiently the role of the conservative-led peace organizations and movements and to evaluate properly the importance of parallel action--as distinguished from united-front action--of those sectors who are for peace but are not yet ready to express themselves in collaboration with the Left." (14) (underscoring represents italics of original text - ed.)

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In the same vein, instructions were issued to Communist Party front groups that in the future their role must be a dual one which "will take the form of direct united-front activities with other peace forces where the specific conditions are favorable, and also the form of stimulating, both by independent example as well as by informal contacts, parallel action on many peace questions." (15)

RELATION OF THE PEACE ISSUE TO CURRENT STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

While it can be expected that peace will be the major theme of all Communist propaganda at the present time, it must also be realized that this basic issue will be adapted to changing events and situations in both national and international affairs, as well as to the various segments of the American populace. This is, of course, in strict accordance with the recognized principles of Communist tactics.

> "The struggle for the united front is a continuous, developing process. The program, the slogans at each given stage must be based on the circumstances of that moment, on the concrete relationship of class forces.
>
> "We must center our attention on the issues that are in 'everybody's mind' at that moment....
>
> "Besides the need for finding the proper issues and slogans, and the right forms and methods, timing is of decisive importance in leadership.... *
>
> . . . . . .

* It is particularly interesting to note the phrase "in leadership" as further explicit evidence that the Communists are continuously seeking control of all united-front movements in which they take part.

> "We must not attempt to include our full program on every issue in every united movement. Movements are built around a minimum number of specific issues." (16)

Thus, whether the Communist Party, USA, is advocating a united-front or parallel action, the basic issue will be the question of peace, to which all immediate demands will be subordinated.

The remaining portion of this monograph will be devoted to an analysis of the manner in which the Communist Party, USA, is using the issue of peace in order to achieve its four basic strategic aims. Since these aims, except that of overthrowing the government which will be treated separately, lend themselves to a breakdown into the Party's position on international affairs (defense of the Soviet Union) and national affairs (preservation of its legality and contact with the masses), this breakdown will be followed.

Overthrow of the Government

All strategy and tactics of all Communist Parties not in power are unconditionally subordinated to the one ultimate and unvarying goal of overthrowing the capitalist society and establishing in its place a socialist state modeled on that of Russia. However, it is also a cardinal principle of

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Communist tactics that direct revolutionary action can be attempted only under those conditions most favorable for its success. Since, at the present time, the "concrete historical situation" is not propitious for the overthrow of the United States Government, no further elaboration will be given this goal in this study, other than indicating its acceptance by the Communist Party, USA.

> "... The Communist Party watches very carefully every turn in the development of the country, whether economic, political, social or cultural, and at every turn it points out to the workers what they have to do in order finally to achieve the maximum results, the overthrow of capitalism. This plan of struggle for the working class is called the Party line...." (17)
>
> "Yes, we change our line; but whatever the line is that we adopt, and however we modify it, it is directed with but one fundamental purpose: how best to realize the strategic aims of the proletarian revolution and socialism." (18)

Defense of the Soviet Union

The obligation of all Communists to defend the interests of the Soviet Union at all times arises ultimately from their conception of the Soviet Union as:

> "... the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of socialist construction... the base of the world-movement of all oppressed classes, the center of international revolution, the greatest factor in world history....

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> "...the U.S.S.R. is the only fatherland of the international proletariat, the principal bulwark of its achievements and the most important factor for its international emancipation." (19)

The Communist Party in the United States accepted this obligation in 1920 when, at its Second National Convention, it voted unanimously to accept the "Twenty-one Conditions" for admission into the Third International (Comintern). (20) Of particular significance is the fourteenth condition which set forth that

> "Every party desirous of affiliating with the Communist International should be obliged to render every possible assistance to the Soviet Republics in their struggle against all counter-revolutionary forces. The Communist parties should carry on a precise and definite propaganda to induce the workers to refuse to transport any kind of military equipment intended for fighting against the Soviet Republics, and should also by legal or illegal means carry on a propaganda amongst the troops sent against the workers' republics, etc...." (21)

Throughout its history the Communist Party, USA, has never seen fit to reject the obligation of defending the Soviet Union under all circumstances. In fact, when it terminated its membership in the Comintern in November, 1940, it did so merely "for the specific purpose of removing itself from the terms of the so-called Voorhis Act.*" (22)

*This Act became effective in January, 1941, and required all organizations subject to foreign control which were engaged in political activity to register with the Attorney General of the United States.

No less an authority than Stalin himself recently reaffirmed that this obligation is still binding on all Communist Parties. During the course of his speech to the Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in October, 1952, Stalin remarked:

> "Of special value for us is this trust which signifies readiness to support our Party in the struggles for the radiant future for the peoples, in its struggle against war, in its struggle for the preservation of peace.
>
> "It would be a mistake to think that our Party, having become a powerful force, no longer needs support. This is not correct. Our Party and our country have always needed and shall need the trust, sympathy and support of the fraternal peoples abroad." (23)

In an obvious attempt to minimize the essentially traitorous nature of this obligation, Stalin explained that

> "A peculiarity of this support is that all support for the peace-loving aspirations of our Party on the part of any fraternal Party signifies at the same time support of its own people in their struggle for the preservation of peace.... This peculiarity of the mutual support is explained by the fact that the interests of our Party not only do not contradict, but, on the contrary, merge with the interests of the peace-loving peoples. As for the Soviet Union its interests in general are inseparable from the cause of world peace." (24)

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The October, 1952, issue of Political Affairs, the theoretical publication of the Communist Party, USA, carried an editorial comment which set forth that Stalin's "momentous...compelling, magnificently direct" speeeh "clarifies for the peoples everywhere, including the American people, the central task of the present period and the period to come..." (25)

The support which the Communist Party, USA, feels obliged to render to Russia includes far more than its refusal to support a war against the Soviet Union. It also embraces the unquestioning acceptance and full support of every aspect of Russian foreign and domestic policy. Moreover, it requires the Communist Party, USA, to minimize, if it cannot completely eliminate, any criticism whatsoever of the Soviet Union. The full extent to which this obligation is binding on the Communist Party in this country was indicated in an article in a recent issue of Political Affairs which set forth

> "...who are those 'who call themselves socialists' and want to fight the Soviet Union? They are the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders, and the fascist crews of Trotskyites and Titoites, who serve the imperialists in the preparation of a new world war, a war against the Soviet Union....
>
> "It is impossible any more for an honest and informed socialist not to know that the innocent-looking proposition of the so-called principle or right to discuss 'shortcomings as well as accomplishments' of the Soviet Union links up directly with Wall Street's warmongering incitements 'to criticize Russia.'

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> The warmongers and their Trotskyite and Titoite agents have made this demand one of their main weapons of intimidation and of ideological war preparation. . . ."(26)

The obligation to defend the interests of the Soviet Union at all times is the underlying reason why the Communist Party, USA, has consistently urged the acceptance of every recent Russian proposal in the field of international relations as the best means of attaining world peace. It also explains why the Communist Party, USA, has criticized every aspect of American postwar foreign policy aimed at strengthening our defense against attack as a preparatory step for a war with Russia.

U. S. Foreign Policy

A complete examination of the position taken by the Communist Party, USA, regarding recent developments in the field of international relations is beyond the scope of the present study. It is believed, however, that its position on the major aspects of American foreign policy will serve to illustrate how it has fulfilled its obligation of defending the interests of the Soviet Union while deceptively claiming that it is acting in the interest of peace.

Among the principal measures adopted by the United States during the last few years to strengthen its defenses have been the Marshall Plan, the Truman Doctrine and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The position of the Communist Party on these measures and postwar American foreign policy in general is summed up in the following quotation:

> "...since 1945 the drive for world domination has become the cynically open, central and over-riding goal of Wall Street's foreign policy. This has been the central theme, the main consideration of the Truman administration in its relations with other countries, and the basic underlying reason for its behaviour at peace conferences and for its activities in the United Nations. This policy of Wall Street divides the world into two camps -- the camp of war and aggression, led by American imperialism, and the camp of peace led by the Soviet Union. It was this policy that resulted in the fascization, ravaging and pillaging of Greece. It was to implement the same expansionist policy that the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact came into being. It was for the same reasons that the representatives of Wall Street scrapped the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. It is for the same reason that the Seventh Fleet is in the waters of the Republic of China. And it is in support of this same policy that Acheson is fighting for the 'unified' army of aggression in Europe, controlled and directed by U. S. imperialism, with the re-armed fascist hordes of Germany as its most reliable divisions." (27)

As opposed to its views on the foreign policy of the United States, the Communist Party has consistently attempted to portray the Soviet Union as a peace-loving nation which is attempting to "maintain peace on the basis of the co-existence of the two systems (socialism and capitalism)." (28)

In its efforts to render the foreign policy of the United States ineffective, the Communist Party, USA, has also attempted to persuade the American people that this policy is the direct cause of high prices and taxes:

> "...Truman wants to take another $7,900,000 out of our pockets for a new phony 'emergency.' This time it is to rush our dollars to the munitions factories of West Europe; many of them controlled by Wall Street capital....
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "The billion chiseled off the Truman-Eisenhower 'emergency' grab is just a fraction of what needs to be done! The whole $7,900,000 should be rejected completely. The huge seventy-billion a year 'defense' budget is rushing America to inflation, and economic crisis. It, and the latest eight-billion grab, should be opposed and slashed by a nation that is sick and tired of the fake 'emergency' and its tax burden." (29)

In addition to its attempts to defeat the purpose of American foreign policy, the Communist Party, USA, has insidiously tried to create a defeatist attitude in this country regarding the ultimate outcome of a war between the United States and Russia.

> "The Soviet Union is a first-rate power, fully capable of taking care of itself in any military venture. And today alongside the two hundred million Soviet peoples stand the nearly half a billion peoples of China and the one hundred millions of the People's

Democracies of Europe. Thus, eight hundred million highly organized and completely united people are dedicated to unyielding resistance against the war drive of U. S. imperialism. ..." (30)

"...unless the leaders of the war camp take advantage of these opportunities for peaceful negotiations their defeat will inevitably follow." (31)

The Korean War

An excellent example of the manner in which the Communist Party has adapted and modified its propaganda to meet changing conditions during "each given stage" of international developments, and at the same time kept this propaganda within the general framework of the issue of peace, is furnished by the various proposals which it has advocated regarding the Korean War. Since June, 1950, when this conflict began, the Communist Party has repeatedly characterized it as "a reckless adventurist war of annihilation" launched by "American imperialism," in order to "perpetuate colonial enslavement and further enrich the handful of bloated Wall Street millionaires."

It has also consistently asserted that

"The brutal assault upon the Korean people by American imperialism is part of Wall Street's program of military aggression against a much larger area - against the whole of Eastern Asia...." (32)

Yet, it has also varied the emphasis of its propaganda to correspond with the progress of this war. Immediately after the intervention of the United Nations, the Communist Party put forth a program which called for

> "Hands off Korea! No interference with the Korean people's right to a free, united and independent Korea.
>
> "Hands off Korea! Demand the immediate withdrawal of United States warships and air force and an end to shipment of arms to the puppet Rhee government.
>
> 'Not a cent, not a gun, not a plane for Wall Street's puppet regimes in Korea, Formosa, Viet Nam." (33)

A year later, however, when it became evident that the United Nations would not withdraw its forces from Korea, the Communist Party began agitating for "a pact of peace between the United States, England, France, the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union" (34) in order to "end international tensions, lift the crushing burden of armaments, and achieve a lasting peace in the interests of our own and all other peoples." (35)

Such great importance was attached to this proposed Big Five pact for peace that, in January, 1952, the Communist Party proclaimed that "the campaign for such a pact is now the greatest task before the peace movement of our country." (36)

However, in September, 1952, when none of the above measures had been realized, and since the truce negotiations had been deadlocked over the issue of the forced repatriation of prisoners of war, the Communist Party began calling for an immediate cease-fire and subsequent negotiations on the prisoner of war issue.

> "...the issue which must focus our most urgent attention at this time is the demand for an immediate cease-fire in Korea, with the still undecided question of prisoner-of-war exchange to be continued in negotiation. This is a decisively important matter. Insistence upon it must be the cement which binds together the whole fabric of our entire peace fight. In every aspect of the struggle, therefore, we must keep in the very forefront the question of an immediate cease-fire in Korea." (37)

> "...the central task, the most immediate task is to develop the broadest movement this country has ever seen around the issue of cease-fire NOW. The ending of the senseless, barbarous war in Korea on the basis of the truce-points already agreed upon must become the slogan of all who earnestly desire peace...." (38)

Increased Trade With Soviet Union

During recent months Communist Party propaganda has also urged an increase in trade between the United States and Russia and her satellite nations, ostensibly to insure that American workers will enjoy continued employment based on a peace-time economy.

> "... The only remaining untapped market for U.S. goods is the Soviet Union, China and the Peoples' Democracies, in which the threat of crises of overproduction has been removed forever...." (39)

"...Mr. Nesterov* offered to purchase 4-5 billion rubles of goods from this country in the next two or three years....

. . . . . .

"The generous offer of the Soviet Union gives American workers part of the answer to the fears which many of them have of losing their jobs 'if peace breaks out.'" (40)

These are just a few examples of the manner in which the Communist Party, USA, is attempting to undermine the defense preparations of the United States under the guise of promoting international peace. The list could be extended to include its support of every program advocated by the Soviet Union in the field of international affairs, and its condemnation of every aspect of the foreign policy of the United States. In every case, the Communist Party has attempted to convince the American people that the Soviet Union is working toward universal peace while the United States is preparing for another world war.

To date, the efforts of the Communist Party, USA, to picture the United States as an "imperialist" aggressor have been unsuccessful. However, little imagination is required to visualize what effect the success of its

* M. V. Nesterov, president of the U.S.S.R. Chamber of Commerce who made this proposal at the International Economic Conference held in Moscow, Russia, April 3-12, 1952.

efforts would have on our nation and throughout the world. If the Communist viewpoint prevailed, the confidence of the American people in our government and its officials would be seriously undermined. Our defense preparations would be largely abandoned and the support of our allies would be greatly weakened, thus inviting further Russian territorial expansion at the convenience of the USSR.

Maintain Contact with the Masses

As a minority group which is striving for complete power, the Communist Party is to a large extent dependent on the support of non-Communists for the achievement of its aims. The importance which Communism attaches to this non-Communist support is indicated by the incessant repetition throughout its literature of the phrase "contact with the masses." In order to understand the strategic and tactical implications of this phrase, it is necessary to review briefly the Communist interpretation of the term "masses."

The first point which must be made is the general relationship of the Communist Party to the non-Communists. While the Communist Party considers itself as a dedicated and select vanguard group, it also realizes that it must maintain the closest and most intimate relationship possible with non-Communists. Stalin's comments on the nature of this relationship are most revealing.

> "But the Party cannot be only a vanguard detachment. It must at the same time be a detachment of the class, part of the class, closely bound up with it by all the fibres of its being. The distinction between the vanguard and the main body of the working class, between Party members and non-Party people, cannot disappear until classes disappear... But the Party would cease to be a party if this distinction were widened into a gap, if it shut itself up in its own shell and became divorced from the non-Party masses. The Party cannot lead the class if it is not connected with the non-Party masses, if there is no bond between the Party and the non-Party masses, if these masses do not accept its leadership, if the Party enjoys no moral and political credit among the masses... without these intangible moral threads which connect the Party with the non-Party masses, the Party could not have become the decisive force of its class. The Party is an inseparable part of the working class." (41)

However, since the purpose of this relationship is to gain the support of the non-Communist masses, the Party is interested primarily in the organized rather than the unorganized masses. The reasons for this distinction are obvious. Organizations exercise greater influence than an amorphous group of individuals. Moreover, an already functioning organization has a pre-established chain of command which can be utilized by the Communists if they can capture a few key positions, thus eliminating considerable Communist organizational work. In recent months, the Communist Party, USA,

has given considerable emphasis to the necessity of gaining the support of the non-Communist organizations in this country:

> "...we -- and all proponents of peace -- have to think in terms of influencing major national organizations, trends and movements, of winning whole shops, trade-union locals, church and fraternal organizations, the youth, women's and farm organizations, whole apartment houses, whole communities. We have to think in terms of winning, not just some of these -- but the majority of all of them -- and enlisting them, one way or another, in the struggle for peace." (42)

> "First, our tactics -- and hence the distribution of forces, time and other resources -- must be based on the simple principle that Communists must work where the masses are, especially the working class and the Negro people.
>
> "Second, the plain facts are that, organizationally speaking, (emphasis added - ed.) the decisive sections of labor are in the Right-led unions of the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O., and the decisive sections of the Negro people are in the N. A. A. C. P.*, the Churches and the fraternal orders. Similar conditions prevail with regard to women, and the youth. It therefore follows that the main attention of Communists and the Left must be devoted to helping move...the masses in these organizations....
>
> "In the light of this general approach, Left peace forces, wherever they work...should make it their prime objective in the coming period to help secure in a planned way the active expression of support by major labor, farm, Negro, women, youth and other groups..." (43)

* National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

However, in order for the Communists to utilize the influence of non-Communist organizations, Communist control must be assured. Mere nominal control, however, is of no use to the Communists. The Communist controlled organization must be susceptible to Communist exploitation, i. e., it must be made to work, either consciously or unwittingly for Communist aims. So essential is this characteristic of a mass organization that Communist philosophy will not even concede the possibility of neutral or independent mass organizations. Stalin summed up the ideal relationship between the Communist Party and non-Communist organizations in the following words:

> "...But the Party is not the only organization of the working class. The proletariat has also a number of other organizations, without which it cannot properly wage the struggle against capital: trade unions, co-operative societies, factory and works organizations, parliamentary groups, non-Party women's associations, the press, cultural and educational organizations, youth leagues,... The overwhelming majority of these organizations are non-Party, and only a certain part of them adhere directly to the Party, or represent its offshoots... all these organizations should work in one direction, for they serve <u>one</u> class, the class of the proletarians. The question then arises: who is to determine the line, the general direction, along which the work of all these organizations is to be conducted? Where is that central organization which is not only able...but, in addition, is in a position...to induce all these organizations to carry out this line, so as to attain unity of leadership and to preclude the possibility of working at cross purposes?

"This organization is the Party of the proletariat (i.e., the Communist Party, ed.)

"The Party possesses all the necessary qualifications for this...(and) is, by reason of its experience and prestige, the only organization capable of centralizing the leadership of the struggle of the proletariat, thus transforming each and every non-Party organization of the working class into an auxiliary body and transmission belt linking the Party with the class...

"This does not mean, of course, that non-Party organizations, trade unions, cooperative societies, etc., should be officially subordinated to the Party leadership. It only means that the members of the Party who belong to these organizations...should do all they can to persuade these non-Party organizations to draw nearer to the Party of the proletariat in their work and to accept voluntarily its political guidance.

. . . . . .

"That is why the opportunist theory of the 'independence' and 'neutrality' of the non-Party organizations...is wholly incompatible with the theory and practice of Leninism." (34)

From the notion of susceptibility to Communist exploitation there follows the fact that the mass quality of an organization is not determined merely by the extent of its membership. A small organization, where Communist control has been assured, automatically becomes a mass organization. On the other hand, an organization with an extensive membership which has

consciously rejected Communist control is transformed, by Communist "logic," into a petty bourgeois group.

Another factor which must be kept in mind is that certain organizations, per se, have greater value for the Communists. Thus a labor union in a basic industry has a greater mass character than a group of white collar workers equal in size, assuming that the possibility for Communist control and exploitation are equal in each case.

The final determining feature of the mass character of any organization is the immediate needs of the Party itself. Organizations whose specific support is considered necessary for achieving some immediate Communist goal ipso facto acquire a mass characteristic. Dependent on the exigencies of the Communist Party, a union in a basic industry, a small group influential in molding public opinion, or even a large loosely organized agricultural federation, can become a mass organization. Lenin was most explicit in defining the variable nature of mass organizations.

> "...I would like to say just a few words about the meaning of the term 'masses.' The meaning of the term 'masses' changes in accordance with the changes in the character of the struggle. At the beginning of the war several thousand real revolutionary workers were sufficient to be called masses. If the Party succeeds in enlisting others besides its

> own members for the struggle, if it succeeds in rousing non-Party workers as well, it is the beginning of the process of winning the masses. During our revolution there were occasions when several thousand workers represented the masses.... When the revolution has been sufficiently prepared, the term 'masses' acquires a different meaning. Then, several thousand workers can no longer be called masses. This work begins to acquire a different meaning. The term masses then means the majority: not merely the majority of workers, but the majority of all the exploited. No other meaning can be accepted by a revolutionary; if any other meaning were attached to this word it would be unintelligible....
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "But in order to achieve victory you must have the sympathy of the masses. An absolute majority is not always essential, but in order to achieve victory, in order to retain power, it is not only necessary to have the majority of the working class...but also the majority of the exploited and the toiling rural population..... That is why we must not only win over the majority of the working class to our side, but also the majority of the toiling and exploited rural population...." (45)

It is only when the full meaning of the Communist interpretation of the term "masses" is understood that the self-assigned role of the Party as the "General Staff of the proletariat" and the "political leader of the working class" can be fully understood. The Party considers the masses as subject to continuous exploitation by some group and has arrogated to

itself the "duty" of protecting them from their "misleaders" (i. e., non-Communist leaders) and leading them to their eventual emancipation -- under a Communist form of government.

It also explains the continuous support, direction and coordination which the Party devotes to its front group activities. As is evident, the Communist Party considers each front group as an "auxiliary body and transmission belt" which will enable it to extend its influence beyond the limits of its own membership. The Communists organize their own front in order to derive some influence from those sectors of the population which otherwise would ordinarily remain unorganized, e. g., women, youth, intellectuals, etc. These front groups are organized as the specific need for them arises and disbanded when the need ceases or when the organization is no longer in a position to give effective support to the Communist position. In addition, the Communists continuously attempt to infiltrate and gain control of those permanent organizations, e. g., labor unions, whose formation has been the result of the development of modern society and whose stability and influence is therefore greater than Communist organized front groups. In either case, the purpose is the same, to increase Communist influence through the exploitation of non-Communists. (46)

During recent years, as a result of legislation restricting its activity, adverse judicial decisions, and the current prosecution of its leaders, the Communist Party, USA, has been required to curtail much of its open activity. This situation has forced the Communist Party, USA, to devote an increasing proportion of its activity to organizing its own front groups to promote its peace campaign and to intensify its efforts to infiltrate and subvert civic, labor, religious, educational and political groups in order to align these organizations in its united front for peace.

Through these methods, the Communist Party, USA, hopes to gain the unsuspecting support of powerful non-Communist forces for its peace campaign. In addition, these mass organizations provide a base from which the Communist Party, USA, attempts to recruit additional members into the Party itself.

Since it deeply affects all strata of American society, the peace issue has furnished the Communist Party an ideal means of maintaining contact with the masses in this country. However, the Communist appeal to the masses is not based solely on the issue of peace. It is in this phase of its activities that the immediate demands tactic is utilized to the fullest extent, in order to create an atmosphere into which the Party's peace program can be most successfully introduced. An examination of recent

Communist propaganda will indicate how it has been adroitly designed to appeal to various sectors of the populace and picture the Communist Party as the champion of the rights and best interests of all citizens, as well as the strongest advocate for world peace.

Labor

In attempting to gain the support of the large number of workers in industry which it has always considered essential to the achievement of its ultimate aims, the Communist Party has repeatedly instructed its members that:

> "It is also important to advance the struggle for a correct political position against imperialist war, by effectively linking it up with the struggle on issues the workers do understand more clearly -- against wage freeze, controls, long-term contracts, abolition of hiring hall, no-strike pledge or law, loyalty screening, Taft-Hartley Law, etc.
>
> "While our Party must intensify the popularizing of a full rounded-out program against the American imperialist war program and actions, Communists and those they influence in the trade unions must learn how to take partial issues that will move workers in a correct direction and develop mass support and struggle around them...." (47)

In accordance with this policy, the Communist Party has proposed the following program, which it feels will be supported by the entire trade-union movement:

"1. No wage freeze of any kind whatsoever.

"2. Drastic rollback in prices of food, rents, etc.

"3. No manpower drafts of any kind. The right to strike is to be inviolate. No strikebreaking through injunctions or Government use of the Army...

"4. United action on all levels of the labor movement -- resolutions, demonstrations, delegations, etc. -- to increase labor's buying power to meet the profiteering of the trusts. United actions in the shops and locals to be discussed and worked out now.

"5. End all jimcrow discrimination in industry.

"6. Labor to take its stand for American-Soviet negotiations on all issues affecting world peace, such as ending the Korean war, preventing the revival of Nazi war power, and ending the suicidal 'armaments race.'" (48)

Moreover, it has urged its members to concentrate on the above immediate demands and to minimize the ideological differences which tend to isolate them from the greater portion of the American labor movement.

"To achieve unity of action on the part of the American labor movement, does not require a leap from a complete Right-wing to complete Left-wing leadership.... What it requires first and foremost is a readiness to put ideological differences aside in order to work together in behalf of a single immediate objective or a number of immediate objectives.... What it requires is the agreement that there is room within one labor movement for different ideological currents and

for the conflict of views between them....
And it requires above all, the recognition that despite ideological differences, the unions must work together and fight together around a minimum common program agreed upon." (49)

Negro

The Communist Party is also using the immediate demands tactics to align the support of the Negroes in its united front for peace. It has pointed out to its members that "the Negro people can be attracted in their great majority to the struggle for peace only if and when the broad peace movement begins to champion some of their burning demands." (50)

The principal immediate demands which the Communist Party is urging for the Negroes include:

> "...the fight against Jim Crow in the armed forces" ..."the demand for full political representation"..."the question of Negro representation" ..."the question of jobs and job discrimination..." (51)

In addition to the above, the Communist Party has instructed its members to take an active part in "the fight for Negro rights -- for F.E.P.C., anti-poll tax and anti-lynch legislation, and against police brutality, segregation, and Jim-Crow." (52)

Farmers

The immediate demands tactic is also being used to gain the support of the farmers of America for the united front for peace.

> "...The over-all factor which must guide the Party's activity in rural America is that all the immediate demands of the working farmers ...must serve to stimulate broad united-front actions in the rural communities in defense of the economic interests of the farming masses. The realization of these demands makes necessary the involvement and organization of broad sections of the farming masses as a vital and indispensable sector of the growing front for peace. The anti-war sentiments of the farming population are traditional in the United States. Recognition of this fact is important for all workers for peace today, if a nation-wide coalition for peace, in the true sense of the word, is to be advanced." (53)

Included among the Party's immediate demands for the farmers are the following:

> "1. Organization of the agricultural workers, raising the question of $1.00 an hour minimum. Equal pay for equal work....
>
> "2. Immediate struggles in all rural districts for slum clearance, for better housing and health conditions for all agricultural workers.

"3. Examine the possibilities of creating mobile schools or classes for the children of all migratory workers.

"4. Rapidly enforce the proposition of compulsory education with adequate provision for the education of children of Mexican-American workers.

"5. A fight for vigorous enforcement of the child labor law...

"6. A fight for supplementary unemployment insurance for all workers who are not provided for by year-round employment. This is particularly important for agricultural workers.

"For the poor and middle farmers we should support demands:

"For a guaranteed price from the wholesalers and monpolists, not at the expense of the consuming masses, adequate to enable them to earn a decent income. Such prices must be guaranteed by the State and Federal governments.

. . . . . .

"Lower interest rates with a moratorium on mortagages, which in many cases will mean a cancellation of debts to the large power trusts, financiers, etc., and relieve the increased debt burden on the small and middle farmers.

"An intensified struggle against the militarization of the youth which deprives masses of farmers of the labor power of their sons and forces into bankruptcy those too poor to hire labor power." (54)



Youth

Since it is the youth of our nation who will have to fight any future war, the Communist Party has devoted an increasing portion of its propaganda to this segment of our society. In attempting to capitalize on the horrors of war, recent Communist propaganda has emphasized the theme that

> "...mankind needs no more white crosses 'row on row.' We want our youth to live, to grow in peace, love and happiness." (55)
>
> 'More and more young Americans are saying they don't want to die 7,000 miles away in Korea so that Wall Street can make some more dough....
>
> "These young people want peace -- jobs with decent union wages, homes -- a future of progress and security -- not mass slaughter." (56)

The ready adaptability of the peace issue to the problem of American youth is evident from the following quotation:

> '"...The fight for a youth peace program is not only our most decisive task in the elections, but is the biggest need in the effort to weld youth unity in the period ahead....'
>
> '"The pivot of any genuine youth program inevitably must be the fight for easing the burden of the militarization program. This fight is directly linked with the central struggle for negotiations and a Big Five Peace Pact and for an immediate truce in Korea.

"Through and in the fight for peaceful settlement, the issue of letting up on the draft and ending the threat of UMT emerges as the most important practical step toward a normal life for American youth." (57)

In addition to its proposals for peace directed toward the youth of America, the Communist Party has also advocated the following immediate issues :

"1. No extension of the draft to 18-year olds, veterans and married men. No lengthening of the draft service term. No universal military service and training.

"2. Abolish Jim Crow, segregation and all forms of discrimination in the armed forces; no disproportionate drafting of Negro youth, and the use of Negro troops on suicide missions; halt the victimization of Negro soldiers by rigged court-martial systems.

"3. Defend the democratic rights and living standards of servicemen and their families. For a 25 percent increase in family allotments. Protect the servicemen's right to vote.

"4. Demand hiring of young workers regardless of 1-A draft status; for one month's severance pay to all draftees. Guarantee jobs, full upgrading and training, equal pay for equal work for young Negro workers and young Negro women; equal pay for equal work for women workers; maintain and extend safety and health standards for youth and women workers.

"5. No militarization of the schools and class rooms. Defend academic freedom. Defend student deferments. Fight segregation and white chauvinism in the schools." (58)

In connection with its propaganda directed toward the youth of our nation, the Communist Party had indicated that special emphasis will be placed on the possibility of the peaceful coexistence of capitalism and Communism.

> "The propaganda for the theory of the inevitability of World War III has also made some headway. This is especially true in the ranks of the youth. The fatalism about the inevitability of war is mixed up in their minds with the very healthy yearning for peace. This yearning for peace is especially strong in the ranks of youth, because they have a strong desire to get started in life as early as possible. Their peace sentiments become distorted when they are convinced that world war is inevitable. As a result there tends to grow the idea that as long as it is going to happen anyway, let's get it over with as quickly as possible. This is why we must especially explain to the young people why war is not inevitable, and how the only way they can get an early start in life is to defeat the war-makers." (59)

Women

Perhaps more than any element of our population, women are deeply desirous of a future free from war. Typical of Communist propaganda to persuade American women that the Communist program for peace will satisfy this longing is the editorial which appeared in the 1952 Mother's Day issue of The Worker, which set forth the following:

"WE WISH we could grant the mothers of America their most fervent wish on this Mothers Day. One does not have to be a professional poll-taker to know that women of our country want one thing above all else -- PEACE.

"It is especially true of mothers spending anxious, sleepless nights with their thoughts fixed on sons and husbands fighting thousands of miles away in Korea. And the anxiety grows greater as blood-and-guts generals and politicians keep shouting for more soldiers, more planes, more bombs to step up the war instead of negotiating a settlement.

"The people of American owe it to the mothers of our land to pledge that there shall be no third year of war in Korea, to demand peace in Korea -- Now!

"We pledge to the mothers of America that we will work still harder with them for peace throughout the world through one of the best means of attaining that end -- negotiations for a Big Five Pact of Peace." (60)

The scope, variety and flexibility of the Communist Party's immediate demands are apparent. They range from issues of local to national and even international interest. Many of them are entirely legitimate in themselves and therefore coincide with the interests of large numbers of non-Communists. They have been skillfully adapted to appeal to every significant segment of our population regardless of race, age, occupation or social standing.

When seen in their true perspective, viz., the creation of an atmosphere suitable for the introduction of Communist peace propaganda, these immediate demands take on a new meaning. It must be realized that the Communist Party, USA, does not espouse these issues in order to promote social progress. What it is attempting to do is to create the erroneous impression that it is an enlightened and progressive group which is constantly striving to promote the lawful interests of the great majority of our citizens. If it should succeed in its efforts in this respect, the insidious Communist peace propaganda would have a far stronger appeal to non-Communists than it has enjoyed up to the present time.

Preserve the Legal Status of the Communist Party, USA

It was some years before Communist Parties in other nations realized that they would not be able to achieve power through the outright revolutionary method utilized so successfully by the Communist Party in Russia. This realization gradually led to attempts to gain power through open competiton with other political groups. The fundamental and primary requisite for success in this overt search for power was to secure the recognition of non-Communists that Communists are entitled to take part in political activity. After 1935, as Communism began to rely more heavily

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on deception and treachery in its efforts to gain power, its need for acceptance as a legal, orthodox political party increased proportionately. As a result, in recent years the Communist Party, USA, has devoted considerable effort to gaining its acceptance as a rightful participant in the lawful struggle for political power.

One of the most effective methods used by the Communists in gaining this acceptance is continuing participation in political activity in competition or even in collaboration with other political groups. Any political activity in which the Communist Party is permitted to take an overt active part helps to create "an atmosphere of Communist political participation." (61)

It is the hope of creating this "atmosphere" which frequently prompts the Party to nominate its own candidates for election to public office, even when there is no expectation that they will be elected. The mere fact that Communist Party candidates openly run for public office, regardless of the outcome of their campaign, is of invaluable assistance in strengthening the Party's claim to be a legal political party. (62)

The Party's need to maintain contact with the masses lends further emphasis to its determination to maintain its legality. The programs of any recognized legitimate organization have, ipso facto, greater force and appeal

than those of one whose activities are in any way proscribed. Moreover, the widespread realization that the Communist Party is basically different from all other political groups would seriously curtail its effective use of normal propaganda media. This consideration is particularly repugnant to the Communists, who as a minority group are largely dependent on the support of non-Communists to achieve their aims.

The necessity to preserve its status as a lawful political party explains why the Communist Party, USA, has protested the passage of every law which in any way restricts its activities or those of its members, or differentiates between it and other political groups. It also serves to explain its repeated calls for the repeal of any such legislation after its enactment into law. For this same reason, the Communist Party has used every legal and quasi-legal measure, often at considerable expense and with great loss of time, in the legal defense of those of its members who have been brought to trial as a result of their Communist activities.

While no federal legislation has been enacted which declares the Communist Party, USA, as such illegal, its status as a lawful political party has been seriously jeopardized by the conviction of a number of its leaders under the Smith Act for conspiring to teach and advocate the overthrow of the

government by force and violence. In addition, the provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950,* particularly those which would require it to publicize its membership records, disclose its finances and label its propaganda as Communist issued, would obviously render much of its work ineffective. Communist efforts to infiltrate labor unions have, to a certain extent, been hampered by the provision of the Taft-Hartley Law** which requires that the officers of all labor organizations which desire access to the services of the National Labor Relations Board must file an affidavit to the effect that they are not members of or affiliated with the Communist Party.

The Communist Party has consistently attempted to label legislation of this type as "unconstitutional," "repressive," an attempt at "thought control," a violation of "civil rights," productive of a "police state" mentality, and, as such, an irrevocable step in the direction of a "fascist" United States.

In keeping with its present united front for peace, the Communist Party has repeatedly alleged that it and its members are being "persecuted" because of their advocacy of peace.

* Also referred to as the McCarran Law.

** Labor Management Relations Act, 1947.

> "The Communists are especially singled out for attack first of all because they are staunch fighters for peace against a ruling class gone war mad; because they are unyielding battlers for democracy against a bourgeoisie which is turning to fascism and hates and fears every vestige of democracy...." (63)

The Communist Party, USA, has consistently condemned the prosecution of its leaders under the Smith Act as an attempt "to shut off the steadily growing, and inevitably growing, POLITICAL OPPOSITION THROUGHOUT THE NATION to the disastrous course now being pursued in Washington." (64)

Similarly, it has described the Internal Security Act of 1950 as an attempt "to outlaw the Communist Party and to suppress all fighters for peace, labor and Negro rights, under the cloak of combatting 'foreign agents.'" (65)

Not only has the Communist Party protested the passage of the Internal Security Act of 1950, but it has also unequivocally stated that it will refuse to comply with the registration provisions of this law.

> "'The Communist Party and its members, as has been stated repeatedly, will not register under the degrading, fascistlike McCarran Act. It is an American Party and will resolutely defend its rights as such. Our Party will insist upon the right to bring its program freely to the American people....It will battle for a legal existence....the Communist Party will carry its case to the highest courts in the land, and, above all, to the broad masses of the working class, the Negro people, and the whole nation.'" (66)

The Communist Party has also repeatedly urged the repeal of the "Taft-Hartley slave labor law" (67) which it alleges is "an abominable threat to the life of the labor movement today." (68)

Nor is the opposition of the Communist Party limited to specific legislation which restricts its activities. It has also opposed any action whatsoever which attempts to distinguish it from other political parties. Thus, the list of subversive organizations prepared by the Attorney General of the United States * has been condemned by the Communist Party, USA, as "crudely un-Constitutional lists... slapped on any people's organization not to the liking of the pro-war officialdom." (69)

Realizing too that any exposure of its deceptive tactics seriously weakens its claim to be a legitimate political party, the Communist Party has carried on a continuous campaign to discredit agencies lawfully constituted to investigate its activities. It has repeatedly called for "the abolition of the infamous House Un-American Committee." ** (70)

For the same reason it has attempted to vilify the Federal Bureau of Investigation as

* The Communist Party, USA, has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States as a "subversive" organization and one which seeks "to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means."

** Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives.

"...the vicious enemy of all that is decent, progressive and democratic in American life, the foe of the Negro people, the tool of the employers for union-busting, the inveterate prosecutor of all who work for peace...." (71)

Underground Activity

While the Communist Party is fighting desperately to preserve its status as a lawful political party, subject only to those restrictions binding on other political groups, it has also indicated its resolve to continue its work in an underground or illegal status if this step should become necessary. A statement issued by the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, in June, 1951, asserted:

> "We Communists will fight to keep our leaders out of jail and to free them if they are imprisoned. We will make full use of every opportunity to function as a legal political party, and strive to regain the rights of which we and the people have been deprived.
>
> "We are going to resist the attempt to drive us underground. But we are also going to protect our members and our organization. We are going to guard the integrity and working class principles of our Party, and preserve its ability to function under any and all circumstances." (72)

Eugene Dennis*, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, reaffirmed this resolve in August, 1961, when he stated:

* Presently in prison after his conviction for violation of the Smith Act.

"The economic royalists have succeeded in depriving our Party of its constitutional rights, and now they are determined to imprison its leadership and drive the Communist Party underground.

"We are going to fight for the liberty of our leaders. We are going to resist being driven underground. But wherever we are we are going to be with and among the masses....

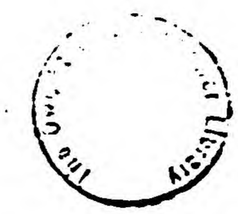
. . . . . .

"We Communists are going to fight to the last ditch for our constitutional and inalienable right to participate openly in these struggles.

"But if we are driven underground -- our enemies will not be able to prevent us from moving even deeper into the thick of the people's mass movement.

"The forms of struggle may change, to accord with new and more difficult conditions. But as Marxists we know that the struggle will go on. And now, even more than before, struggle will decide everything." (73)

The position of the Communist Party regarding its underground or illegal activities may be summarized briefly as follows. Communists recognize that some form of illegal activity is always basically necessary in principle, because they realize the illegal nature of their final goal—the conspiratorial or violent overthrow of the existing government. Communists realize that, since this final goal is illegal, their Party cannot be a completely legal one and that certain essential activities can be carried out only in secret.



However, in order for the Communists to achieve their final goal, certain transitional goals must first be attained, the most important of which is ensuring Communist control and exploitation of the non-Communist masses. This preparatory work can be done only by a legal organization which is in a position to take advantage of every legal opportunity to gain non-Communist support. Thus legal and illegal work, one complementing the other, must always be combined in order to bring about the eventual Communist seizure of power.

There are, however, numerous disadvantages connected with an illegal operation. If the Communist Party were forced to become a completely underground organization, the most disastrous result would be its eventual reduction to a futile minority group with no influence outside its own membership. An underground operation also increases the difficulty in maintaining the control and discipline over its members which are so vital to the Communist Party. It is also more costly since the time and funds required for concealment must be diverted from other activities.

On the other hand, there are also certain advantages to an illegal method of operation. The underground section of the Communist Party, USA, is ideally adapted to conditions facilitating the effectiveness of Soviet espionage

operations in the United States. Since only the most devoted and trusted Communist Party members are assigned to underground work, the initial contact can usually be made without fear of the Soviet agent's being exposed. In addition, false identification documents, well-established business covers, devious means for transferring funds, and effective courier systems are readily available for espionage purposes. Moreover, secretly formulated Communist policy to promote labor unrest and strikes can frequently be carried out most effectively by Communist Party members in industry, whose Communist affiliations have been carefully concealed for a period of years.

For these reasons, the Communist Party always attempts to operate legally as long and as extensively as possible, and to restrict its underground activities to those which, because of their patently illegal nature, must be handled in a conspiratorial, clandestine or secret manner.

Since the latter part of 1949, as a result of the legal action initiated against its leaders and increasingly adverse public opinion, the Communist Party, USA, has steadily increased its preparations for underground activity in order to assure the survival of the Communist movement in this country. More and more of its specifically Communist activities, e.g., meetings, educational classes, collection of dues, etc., are being conducted in a secret and conspiratorial manner. At the same time, its legal activities,

e.g., fund raising, publicity, soliciting signatures to petitions, etc., are being gradually transferred to Communist front organizations.

While enlarging the scope of its underground activities, the Communist Party has simultaneously fought tenaciously to preserve its status as an orthodox political group. The expenses which it has incurred and the time it has lost in the deliberately protracted trials of its leaders are considered necessary by the Communist Party, USA, to delay as long as possible the widespread realization that it is a unique political party, completely foreign to the American way of life.

Yet, even in its struggle for political survival, the Communist Party, USA, has found a way to introduce the peace issue, claiming that it is being "persecuted" because of its advocacy of peace. Many of the most important, currently active Communist front groups have been specifically orientated to the peace issue (e.g., American Peace Crusade, American Women for Peace, American Youth for Peace) to insure the continuation of Communist peace propaganda, should the Party itself be forced further underground.

CONCLUSION

The admitted aim of the current Communist united front for peace is to change the present foreign policy of the United States into one which is based on a program of peaceful cooperation with Russia. However, the underlying reason for the Communist Party's advocacy of peace at the present time is based not on the advantages which a true universal peace would bring to the entire world, but on the need of the Soviet Union for a temporary period of peace at the present time. This typically narrow Communist approach to the essentially universal problem of world peace is well illustrated by the following quotation:

> "PREMIER JOSEPH STALIN, in his closing speech to the Communist Party Congress,* reaffirms once again the mutual interests between the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and, on the other, supporters of peace and independence throughout the world.
>
> "This is necessarily true.... The flowering of a socialist society and the transitional period from socialism to communism** requires above all, peace." (74)

* The Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held in Moscow, Russia, in October, 1952.

** The period which Stalin alleges that the Soviet Union is passing through at the present time.

Unquestionably the overwhelmingly prevalent desire for a lasting world peace has furnished the Communist Party, USA, an issue which has a universal emotional appeal. In attempting to capitalize on this factor, the Communist Party, USA, is ostensibly exerting effort to further the cause of world peace and relating every conceivable aspect of national and international affairs to this one issue.

Upon analysis, however, it becomes evident that in Communist propaganda the word "peace" is interpreted as being synonymous with Communism itself, i. e., that a permanent universal peace is possible only under a world-wide Communist society which has eliminated all other social orders. While emphasizing its advocacy of peace, Communist propaganda minimizes the fact that the peace of which it is in favor will not arise as a result of the amicable settlement of differences between nations, but rather as the result of the capitulation of all other nations to the Communist viewpoint.

Current Communist propaganda also conveniently discounts the fact that it is a fundamental tenet of Marxism-Leninism that the coexistence of capitalism and Communism can be only of a temporary nature and that, eventually, a final violent conflict between these two systems is inevitable. Zhdanov, when he affirmed the theory of peaceful coexistence, was careful to add the qualifying phrase "over a lengthy period" and equally careful

not to intimate the actual extent of this "lengthy period." Georgi Malenkov, in his authoritative address to the Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in October, 1952, also obliquely indicated the transitory nature of the period of peaceful coexistence by explaining that the preservation of peace and the prevention of war "would, in the present historical conditions, be a tremendous victory for the cause of democracy and peace." (emphasis added - ed.) (75)

The consequences of the success of the Communist peace movement in the United States are self-evident. The acceptance of the Communist Party by the American public as a group which is striving to preserve world peace would be of incalculable assistance in supporting the Party's claim that it is a lawful political party. This general acceptance would permit the Communist Party, USA, to operate more openly than at present, thus increasing its access to and potential influence over non-Communists, while at the same time affording its proposals greater force and appeal.

Even a limited prevalence of the Communist allegations that the Wall Street-dominated present foreign policy of the United States is aimed at starting another world war, that the Soviet Union is doing everything possible to guarantee world peace, and that the present high cost of living and high taxes are due to defense spending which is totally unnecessary, would undermine public confidence in our government and its officials and seriously weaken and divide our nation.

The acceptance of the possibility of the peaceful coexistence of capitalist and Communist societies would also lead to the virtual abandonment of our essential defense preparations, with the concurrent loss of the trust and confidence of our non-Communist allies, and would eventually isolate a defenseless United States from all other non-Communist nations. At the same time, Russia would be furnished a much-needed opportunity to rebuild her nation after the devastation of the last war and to consolidate her domination over the newly formed "people's democracies" of Europe and Asia. A weakened and divided non-Communist world would then be helpless against any future aggression which Russia could undertake at her own convenience.

The peace issue is so ideally adapted to the present strategic and tactical aims of the world Communist movement that the Soviet Union recently ordered that efforts to promote the world-wide Communist united front for peace should be even further intensified. Malenkov, although speaking to the Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, addressed his remarks to Communist parties throughout the entire world when he stated:

> "The task now is to activate the popular masses still more, to strengthen the organization of the partisans of peace, to expose the warmakers tirelessly and not

allow them to enmesh the peoples in a web of lies. To bridle and isolate the gamblers of the camp of the imperialist aggressors who seek to embroil the peoples in a sanguinary slaughter for the sake of their profits -- such is the principal task of all progressive and peace-loving mankind." (76)

As an integral part of the world-wide Communist conspiracy, completely subservient to the Soviet Union, the Communist Party, USA, can be expected to intensify its insidious efforts to allay the well-founded fear of future Russian aggression through its specious program for peace.

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